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AUTHOR Reed, Wornie L.
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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the economic status of the African American family in Cleveland (Ohio) and in the United states as a whole and describes a model of interactions of social forces and economic factors that have influenced the declining earnings of African American families. The proportion of African American families in poverty in the United States climbed from 20 per cent in 1969 to nearly 30 percent in 1994, and in Cleveland, the poverty rate has risen in a similar fashion. In the same period, the black unemployment rate has doubled. Some phenomena that have major roles in the economic well-being of African American families are the ongoing restructuring of the economy, crime and the incarceration of African American males, family structure, demographic trends in gender ratios, and continuing educational failures. The proposed model includes these factors, but does not include racism and the part it plays in the economic status of African American families. An appendix contains supporting tables and figures. (Contains 15 figures, 5 tables, and 22 references.) (SLD)

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The Economic Status of the African American Family

by
Wornie L. Reed, Ph.D.

Revision of paper presented at the Urban League of Greater Cleveland's Fourth Annual Conference on the African American Family, February 12, 1996

Dr. Wornie L. Reed is Director of the Urban Child Research Center
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Wornie L. Reed, Director
Urban Child Research Center
Levin College of Urban Affairs
Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

The economic situation of African American families is deteriorating. After making great progress during the 1960s, African American families experienced sharp social and economic setbacks during the 1970s and 1980s. The proportion of black families in poverty increased, the proportion of middle-income earners decreased, and millions of African American men found themselves out of work. This paper will briefly describe the recent economic status of the African American family in Cleveland, as well as in the United States, and describe a model of interactions of social forces and economic factors that have influenced the declining earnings of African American families.

Economic Status and Trends

Poverty

The proportion of African American families in poverty in the United States climbed from 20 percent in 1969 to nearly 30 percent in 1994. Thus the proportion of African American families in poverty increased in the 1970s and 1980s by some 50 percent.

In Cleveland the poverty rate has increased similarly. In 1970 some 23.3 percent of all African American families were in poverty. By 1990 more than a third (35.6%) were in poverty. Ominously, the proportion of African American families in poverty with children under 18 years of age increased from 28.8 percent in 1970 to 53.8 percent in 1990, significantly greater than the proportion of European American families in poverty with children, which increased from 17.5 percent in 1970 to 27.8 percent in 1990. Thus, more than one-half of all African American children in Cleveland were growing up in poverty, at risk for the healthy growth and development that this status often brings.

Family Income

When adjusted for inflation, the median income for black families in 1992 was actually less than it was in 1970—$18,660 in 1992 and $18,810 in 1970 (in 1992 dollars). Significantly, median white family income *increased* over the same period (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1995). Consequently, the ratio of black to white median income fell from 60.8 percent to 58.2 percent nationally (See Figure 1 in Appendix). In Cleveland, in 1990, the median family income of African Americans was comparable—at 62 percent of that of whites. During some years, African

Americans gained somewhat and, accordingly, black family income inched up as a proportion of white family income. However, in the 1970s, there was an overall steady decline in the ratio, a decline that began—ever so slightly—to reverse itself in the 1980s.

On all key measures the economic situation of black Americans continues to lag far behind that of white Americans. In 1992, the median income of black families was only 58.2 percent of that of white families. This was up only slightly from the 51.1 percent rate in 1947(!) and down from rates in the mid 1970s when black family income was occasionally as much as 60 percent that of whites. However, the ratio reversed in the next two years (1993 and 1994) to almost 62 percent. This means that median black family income is less than two-thirds that of white families.

The black unemployment rate has doubled—from 6 percent in 1969 to 12.9 percent in 1993 (Garwood, 1994). Black unemployment rates have averaged about twice the rates for whites since the end of World War II. Until the mid 1970s the ratio of black to white unemployment had tended to rise when the economy contracted and fall when the economy expanded. Since 1976, however, the ratio has tended to rise rather than fall each time the economy has expanded. In other words, the gap between black unemployment and white unemployment increased when the economy improved (Hill, 1993).

Decreasing Middle Class

Contrary to popular opinion, the proportion of African American families in the middle class did not increase overall in the 1970s and 1980s (See Table 1 in Appendix). Although the proportion of African Americans in the upper-income bracket nearly doubled between 1970 and 1993, rising from 10.2 percent to 17.5 percent, this constitutes less than 18 percent of black families. Below the $50,000 income level, different dynamics occurred: the proportion of low-income families increased and the proportion of middle-income families—those earning between $25,000 and $50,000—*decreased*, as did those earning between $10,000 and $25,000. Although the actual number of black middle-class families increased during this period, it did not increase as fast as the number of low-income families.

Another way of stating this is as follows: between 1970 and 1993 the proportion of African American families making more than $10,000 *decreased* while the proportion earning less than $10,000 *increased* (See Table 1 in Appendix). Rather than a closing of the black-white

income gap, there has been a widening of the gap since 1970. By 1993, the ratio of black-to-white family income had fallen to 55 percent, one of the lowest levels since the 1960s.

Historically, African Americans have had a higher proportion of two-earner families than whites. However, during the 1970s and 1980s there was a reversal of this pattern; while the proportion of black families with two or more earners fell from 56 percent to 47 percent between 1969 and 1992, the proportion of white families with two or more earners *rose* from 54 percent to 59 percent (Hill, 1993; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1995).

Wealth Versus Income

It may be useful here to distinguish between income and wealth. All too often the economic situation of African Americans is evaluated by comparing black income to white income, which can be misleading since there is a much greater disparity between blacks and whites in wealth than in income.

In 1988, the median net worth of a black family was $4,164, while that of a white family was more than 10 times as much—$43,279 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). In other words, on average, for every $1 in wealth held by a white family, a black family had 9 cents in wealth. For those families with incomes under $11,000, white families had 96 times greater net worth than blacks. White families with incomes between $11,000 and $48,000 (the very broad middle class, in 1984 dollars) had 3 to 7 times more wealth than their black counterparts. White families with incomes in excess of $48,000 had twice the wealth of blacks in that category (Darity, 1993).

The breakdown of family type shows that white married-couple families had four times more wealth than black married-couple families, and white female single-parent families had nearly 34 times more wealth than black female single-parent families. In fact, white female single-parent families, on average, had greater net worth than black married-couple families (Darity, 1993).

In addition to the *extent* of asset ownership, blacks and whites also diverge when it comes to the *composition* of asset ownership. According to a census study, "compared with white householders, black householders held a greater percentage of their net worth in durable goods such as housing (65 percent versus 41 percent) and motor vehicles (11 percent versus 6 percent), and a lower percentage in financial assets such as stocks and mutual funds shares (1 percent

versus 7 percent) and deposits at financial institutions (7 percent versus 15 percent)" (Darity, 1993). These data may explain the difficulty that blacks have in raising even small amounts of capital for small business ventures or in passing their middle-class status on to their children.

Factors Influencing Economic Status

Social Forces Affecting Black Families

Recessions

Wage earners in black families have been disproportionately affected by national economic recessions. The four recessions in the 1970s and early 1980s—1970-71, 1974-75, 1980, and 1981-82—were devastating to many African American families. Unemployment among black family heads tripled, leading to alarming increases in family instability and poverty. For each 1 percent rise in the rate of black unemployment during the 1970s there was a 2 percent rise in the proportion of single-parent families (Hill, 1993).

Inflation

During the "stagflation" era of the 1970s, when the nation had high unemployment and inflation simultaneously, black families were disproportionately affected. Whereas the incomes of one-half of all white families grew slower than inflation, three-fourths of all black families experienced this phenomenon (Hill, 1993).

Changes in Occupational Values

As African American men move into middle-class occupations, the occupations they enter are returning less and less money in earnings. While there has been growth in the proportion of the black male work force that is in white-collar occupations (between 1959 and 1987 the proportion nearly doubled, from 15.2% to 28.6%), black males in upper-level white-collar occupations earned less in 1979, on average, relative to white males than did their blue-collar counterparts. The black male/white male earnings ratio was .71 among white-collar occupations and .79 among blue-collar occupations. These differences persist when educational level is controlled for in studies. For example, among executives and administrators in 1979 the black-male earnings ratio for individuals with a four-year college degree was .62. This means that for every dollar in earnings of a white male executive, a similarly placed black male earned only 62 cents (Cotton, 1990).

Black Dependence on the Public Sector

Another development in the African American work force is the increasing dependence on the public sector. Over 50 percent of all college-educated U.S. blacks are employed in the public sector. Twenty-six percent of all African American families depend to some degree on public services and public assistance. Therefore, both the middle class and the lower class have vested interests in a nonshrinking government. With a more precarious economic status, the African American middle class is highly vulnerable to economic downturns and government budget cuts. During the 1970s, the proportion of black workers in the public sector increased from 21 percent to 27 percent, while government employment for whites decreased to 16 percent. The black middle class is also vulnerable to changes in affirmative action policy. As affirmative action policy becomes weaker, the number of blacks moving into the middle class becomes smaller. Thus, the black middle class does not have the security or the resources comparable to the white middle class for transmitting its favored class position to its children.

Model of Selected Factors Affecting African American Family Income Inequality

An holistic examination of problems affecting the welfare of the African American family sees black families as social subsystems interacting with subsystems in the black community and in the wider (white) community. External subsystems in the wider society include societal forces and institutional policies in economics, politics, education, health, welfare, law, culture, religion, and the media. External subsystems in the African American community include schools, churches, peer groups, social clubs, businesses, and associations. Hill, et al. (1993) describes these relationships and processes, presenting a selected set of factors and some of their interactions that have major roles in the economic well-being of African American families. These factors are the ongoing restructuring of the economy, crime and incarceration of African American males, family structure, demographic trends in gender ratios, and the continuing educational failures. (See Figure 2 in Appendix for a model of the relationships between these factors.)

Economic Restructuring

One of the primary factors affecting the decline in the economic status of African American families in Cleveland is the restructuring of the economy. The U. S. economy has

undergone major economic changes associated with a shift from goods-producing to service-providing activities. This restructuring of the economy, obviously a complicated process, has adversely affected the economic opportunities of African Americans.

In the 1980s African Americans were employed primarily in three sectors—manufacturing, services, and professional services (Blair & Fichtenbaum, 1992). Of these, the manufacturing sector has traditionally provided the greatest source of employment and earnings for African Americans. Annual earnings in manufacturing were substantially greater than the national average for African Americans. The jobs usually provided fringe benefits, even without a high school education. Manufacturing jobs provided families with the resources to help their children move into white-collar jobs. This is becoming less and less the case, however, as the manufacturing sector is undergoing a long-term decline. In Cleveland, one-quarter of all manufacturing jobs present in 1979 disappeared by 1983. Manufacturing employment accounted for 30.3 percent of all employment in Cleveland in 1979, but by 1993 it accounted for only 19.9 percent (Hill, 1995).

The labor market for high school dropouts has decreased substantially and the market for those with just a high school diploma has declined. In the 1980s the inflation-adjusted wages of high school dropouts declined nearly 15 percent. The inflation-adjusted wages of those with a high school diploma declined 18 percent. On the other hand, the real wages of those with at least 16 years of education increased by almost 12 percent (Hill, 1994).

The service and professional service sectors are expected to be two of the fastest growing job categories of this decade. The service industries contain a variety of jobs—some of which are the highest-paying professional and executive positions and others are very low-paying occupations which may not provide fringe benefits. More and more workers who would have been in manufacturing jobs are either not working or working in low-paying service jobs.

An analysis by Hill (1994) indicates that Greater Cleveland has fallen behind the nation and the state of Ohio in producing jobs. The Greater Cleveland region is seen as composed of two economies: the city of Cleveland and the rest of the region (Austrian & Bingham, 1994). The city lost jobs in the 1980s, while the rest of the region gained jobs, but not nearly as much as Cleveland lost. Entry level jobs are available; however, the jobs have skill levels, earnings and geography that are mismatched with the individuals seeking them (Hill, 1994). Many individuals

do not have the literacy level required for most of these jobs. In addition, many do not have the interpersonal skills or workplace discipline needed to hold these jobs.

There are low-skill jobs available, but they tend not to offer benefits, especially health care, and the earnings are not high enough to support a family. The absence of health coverage in such jobs might mandate that an individual stay in the job or get on public assistance, which provides health care coverage, recognizing also that the pay of low-skill jobs is insufficient to provide for child care.

Another factor in the Cleveland labor market is geography. Manufacturing employers are moving to the far suburbs, away from the vicinity of the persons who want and need those jobs the most.

Crime and Incarceration

One of the major reasons for the unavailability of men on the one hand, and their economic alienation on the other hand, is crime and the criminal justice system. African Americans are overrepresented in the criminal justice system in terms of arrests, convictions, and incarceration. While African Americans comprise 12 percent of the U.S. population, they account for over one-fourth (28.1%) of arrestees (Garwood, 1991) and one-half of state prisoners.

Undoubtedly, much of this racial disparity is the result of two factors: (1) the criminogenic conditions in which many African American youth grow up; and (2) the differential treatment of African Americans at every phase of the criminal justice process. Here, however, we are only addressing these statistics and the effect they have on African American families in particular and black communities in general.

It is estimated by criminologists that about one-fourth of all black men are arrested by the time they are 25 years of age, and that between 50 and 90 percent of African American male adolescents in poverty areas have arrest or "police contact" records (Hill, 1993). The issue then is not just incarceration, but an individual's reduced employability once they get out of jail or prison. Youth crime is associated with joblessness. While it is readily assumed that when young men are participating in criminal careers they do not have regular employment, a criminal record also has the effect of reducing later employability. Estimates of the actual effect of a criminal career on employability have been suggested in a recent study. Freeman (1988) found that inner city

African American male youths with criminal records suffered a subsequent 10 to 12 percent decrease in employability. Thus, one scourge of African American communities—crime—is directly related to another perennial problem—unemployment.

The early development of criminal records is a serious problem for African American communities. In analyses of national data from juvenile courts we have found that any prior contact with the criminal justice system puts a youth at a disadvantage the next time around (Reed, 1984; Bortner & Reed, 1985). For example, if a youth is "contacted" about a juvenile justice issue, he is more likely the next time he is contacted to be brought in for a hearing. And if he is ever brought to a formal hearing he is subsequently more likely to be detained and/or incarcerated.

Economic Alienation

The growing unemployment rate of African American males reflects to some degree the changes in the nature of the U.S. economy. Between 1940 and 1975, job opportunities within manufacturing were a major means for black families to move up into the middle-income bracket, the sector that has traditionally provided high wage jobs to workers with low levels of skills. However, the shift from a manufacturing economy to a service economy is having an adverse effect on current and future prospects for black workers. Blacks are not well represented in the occupations that are expected to grow the fastest over the next decade. Also, the manufacturing sector has been declining and, predictably, black employment fell considerably faster during the 1980s than overall employment in most of these declining industries (Simms, 1988).

Increasingly, African American males are found to be out of the labor force. By 1993, only 68.6 percent of all black males 16 years and over in the civilian noninstitutionalized population in the United States were in the labor force. This proportion is even smaller when the high proportion of males in prisons and jails is taken into consideration. Unemployment is only part of the story. It reflects only the status of persons "in the labor force," those working or looking for work. A larger proportion of black men have become alienated from the work force and have just "dropped out." They are simply discouraged workers who have stopped looking for work after repeated failures.

Education

Much is known about the problems in the education of African American youth in Cleveland and other urban areas. It is important, however, to link these problems to the future economic well-being of these youth when they become adults. Over the last 20 years the high school dropout rate of African Americans has improved locally as well as nationally; however, the Cleveland rate is substantially higher than the national rate. Nearly 2,000 Cleveland black high school students drop out every year. Unlike the situation in past generations, there are few good job options for these individuals.

Family Structure

One of the primary factors in the worsening economic situation of African American families over the past three to four decades is the tremendous increase in the number and proportion of African American families that have female householders with no husband present (See Figure 3 in Appendix). Between 1970 and 1992, the proportion of African American families headed by women jumped from 28 percent to 46 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993).

Why do we care about single parenthood? Sara McLanahan and Gary Sandefur, who have done some of the best studies on this issue over the last 10 years have said,

> Children who grow up in a household with only one biological parent are worse off, *on average*, than children who grow up in a household with both of their biological parents, regardless of whether the parents are married when the child is born, and regardless of whether the resident parent remarries (McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994, p.1).

The data support them. Compared with teenagers of similar background who grow up with both parents at home, adolescents who have lived apart from one of their parents during some period of childhood are twice as likely to have a child before age 20, and one and one-half times as likely to be "idle"—out of school and out of work—in their late teens and early 20s.

But are single motherhood and absence-of-father therefore the root cause of child poverty, school failure, and juvenile delinquency? The data say no. While living with just one parent increases the risk for a child to experience each of these negatives outcomes, it is not the only or even the major cause. Growing up with a single parent is just one among many factors that put

children at risk of failure, just as lack of exercise is only one among many factors that put people at risk for heart disease. Many people who do not exercise never suffer a heart attack, and many children raised by single mothers grow up to be quite successful.

> One way to assess the impact of family structure on a problem such as high school failure is to compare the dropout rate of all children with the dropout rate of children in two-parent families that have suffered no disruption. During the 1980s, the dropout rate was about 19 percent overall and about 13 percent for children who live with both their parents. So even if there were no family disruption, the high school dropout rate would still be at least 13 percent. Clearly, most school failure is being caused by something other than single motherhood. But just as clearly, children with an absent parent are at significantly greater risk than their peers who have two biological parents at home (McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994, p.2).

Marital Instability

Divorce is a significant factor in creating mother-only families. Contrary to popular opinion African Americans have a higher divorce rate than whites, although divorce has been an increasing trend among whites as well as blacks. The divorce rate has been steadily increasing since 1990 (See Figure 4 in Appendix).

Economic Alienation Factor

We must talk about the negative consequences of single motherhood—even at the risk of stigmatizing single mothers and their children—because of the following facts. Of the children born to married parents, about 45 percent are expected to experience their parents' divorce before reaching age 18. Well over half of the children born in 1992 will spend all or some of their childhood apart from one of their parents.

Current research and policy analyses emphasize the issues of unwed mothers and income programs for female-headed families. Attention to these issues is necessary and useful, but not sufficient in addressing the economic deterioration of black families. The economic alienation of black men should also be addressed. If we are to stem the tide of female-headed families and the attendant rise of poverty, we must begin to investigate the attrition from the labor force of black men.

The decline in African American two-parent families is not the result of some mystical cultural trend, i.e. black matriarchy. It is the result of forces in the middle of the 20th century, not slavery or age-old culture as some have argued. If slavery and/or culture were the case, then the proportion of African American households headed by women would have always been low. See Figure 5 in Appendix which shows that two-parent families were the rule until after 1960. Figure 6 in (See Appendix) shows that this was true in Cleveland as well.

The great increase in African American female householders with no husband present is primarily the result of the rapid increase in the number and proportion of African American females having babies out of wedlock (See Figure 7 in Appendix). It is commonly believed that young African American females have been having babies at a higher rate in the last two to three decades. This is not so. The fertility rate of African American women, as well as European American women has decreased over the last 50 years. Even among the very young, those between the ages of 10 and 14, the rate has not increased (See Figures 7-10 in Appendix). The major difference between "then" and "now" is that these females are having babies without the benefit of marriage.

The decline in African American two-parent families is the result of multiple forces, the most important of which is the economic alienation of African American men. There is a strong correlation between black male employment and the increase in black female-headed families. As the black male unemployment rate increased between the mid 1960s and the 1990s, and as more black males dropped out of the labor force altogether (stopped looking for work), the percent of black female-headed families rose correspondingly. See Figures 10 and 11 in Appendix for the United States and Cleveland showing increasing trend lines for African American men who are unemployed or out of the labor force; Figure 12 shows the trend line for black female single-parent families in Cleveland. See Figure 13 for the close correlation between the African American male employment and African American household structure.

The bottom line is that women do not marry men who are not working. Concomitantly, unemployed African American men may not see themselves as "ready" for marriage.

Demographic Trends

The pool of marriageable men for black women is decreasing. This economic

phenomenon is assisted in its negative effect on married-couple households by the demographic phenomenon known as the "marriage squeeze," a birth rate demographic that describes the relatively low availability of black men of marriageable age. (See Tables 2-5 in Appendix.)

Since 1970 the proportion of all individuals delaying marriage or not marrying during their early 20s has declined. The decreases have occurred among whites and blacks, but more so among blacks. Prior to 1950 more black males and females were married by age 20-24 than their white counterparts. By 1960, however, the situation was reversed among both sexes—blacks were less likely to be married than whites. Now blacks are significantly more likely to not be married by age 20-24 (See Figures 14-15).

Family Formation

In the discussion above we have described correlations between demographic and economic factors and family structure among African Americans. The decline in the ratio of African American males and females in the noninstitutionalized population and the increase in the numbers and proportions of black males who are unemployed and/or out of the labor force are correlated with the increase in black female-headed households. For these correlations, only trend lines have been shown. Please note, however, that several research projects have demonstrated these relationships (Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan, 1995). The demographic "marriage squeeze" phenomenon has been studied for some time (Cox, 1940; Glick, 1988). In a recent study Darity and Myers (1995) showed that a combination of economic (black male employment) and demographic (sex ratios) factors was a better predictor of female headship than sex ratios alone.

These relationships do not exist so strongly for whites. Sampson (1995) showed that the causal effect of sex ratios on family structure among blacks is over five times greater than the white sex ratio effect, and the male employment effect is twenty times greater for blacks than whites. Darity and Myers (1995) found that their combination factor (the ratio of unmarried males in the labor force or in school to unmarried females) did not readily predict white female leadership. Wilson (1987) earlier had argued that white marriages rates were more affected by the increasing economic independence of white females. In other words, higher income would be related to a lower likelihood of marriage among white women and increased marriage among black women.

Conclusion

This paper has provided an overview of the economic status of African American families and a brief discussion of how a set of factors—social and economic—interact to adversely affect that status. The restructuring of the economy, especially the decline in employment in the manufacturing sector and the increases in employment in service sectors, have been indicated as a significant factor for African Americans in Cleveland as well as in the nation as a whole. Several intermediate factors affected by the economic restructuring have also been indicated as adversely affecting African American families' well-being. The resulting decline in employment among African American males, along with the concomitant increase in incarceration of young African American males and continuing problems in education, conjoin to increase economic alienation among African American males.

One factor contributing substantially to the declining status of the African American family has been the great increase in female single-parent families; and the economic alienation of African American men has been proposed as a primary factor in producing female single-parent households. Other important factors include the increasing rate of divorce in African American families and the continuing male gender deficit among African Americans.

There is no claim being made here that the factors discussed in this paper are the only ones affecting the economic status of African Americans. However, I do propose that they are some of the more important factors. The influence of factors in Figure 2 (See Appendix) does not occur just in the direction of the arrows. There are other dimensions possible in the model. For example, family structure might influence the degree of educational success or the degree of criminal careers. The model as described is admittedly selective—to isolate some factors and relationships deemed crucial to the economic status of African American families.

Another issue not addressed in this paper is racism and the part it plays in the economic status of African American families. I have limited the discussion to the nature of the relationship of the factors. However, racism is often a factor in employment decisions and related institutional operations.

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Appendix

Figures

Figure 1 Ratio of Black-to-White Median Family Income, 1970-1994

Figure 2 Model of African American Family Income Inequality

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Table 5 Ratio of White Males to White Females: Cleveland, 1960-1990

Figure 1

Ratio of Black-to-White Median Family Income 1970-1994

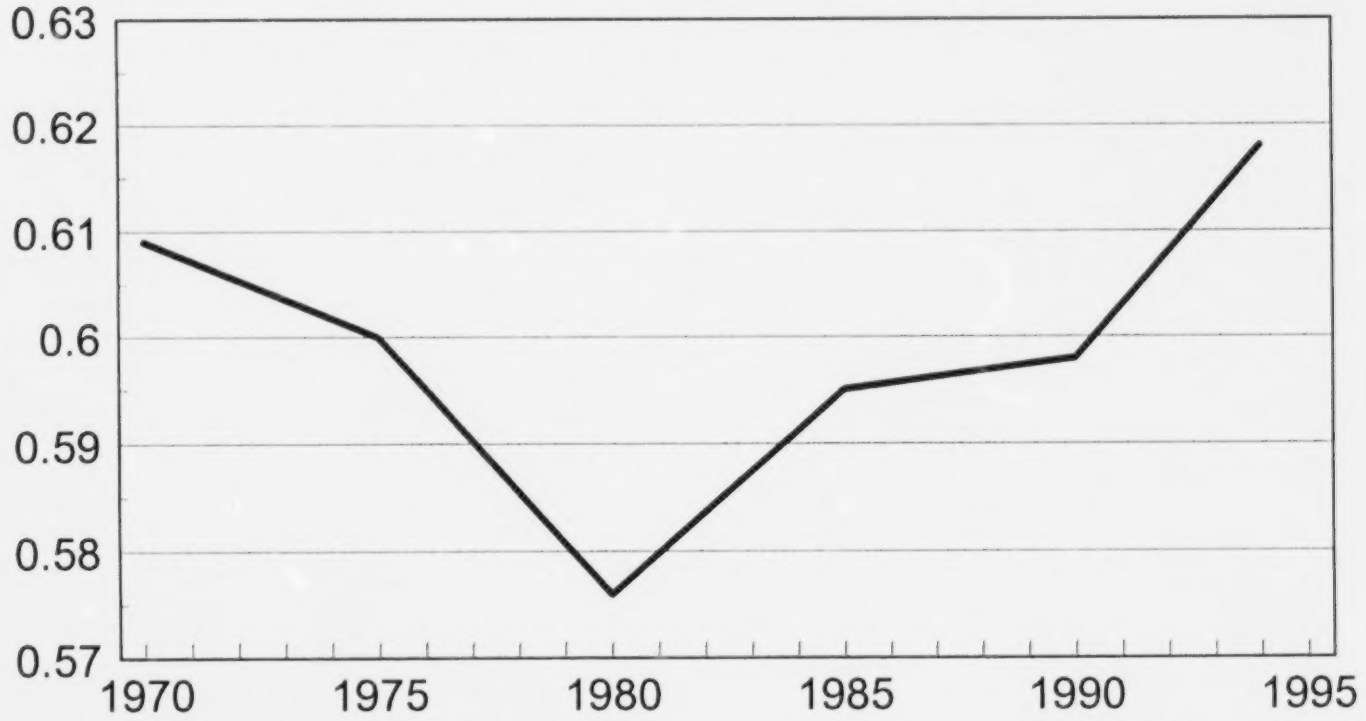

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Figure 2

Model of African American Family Income Inequality

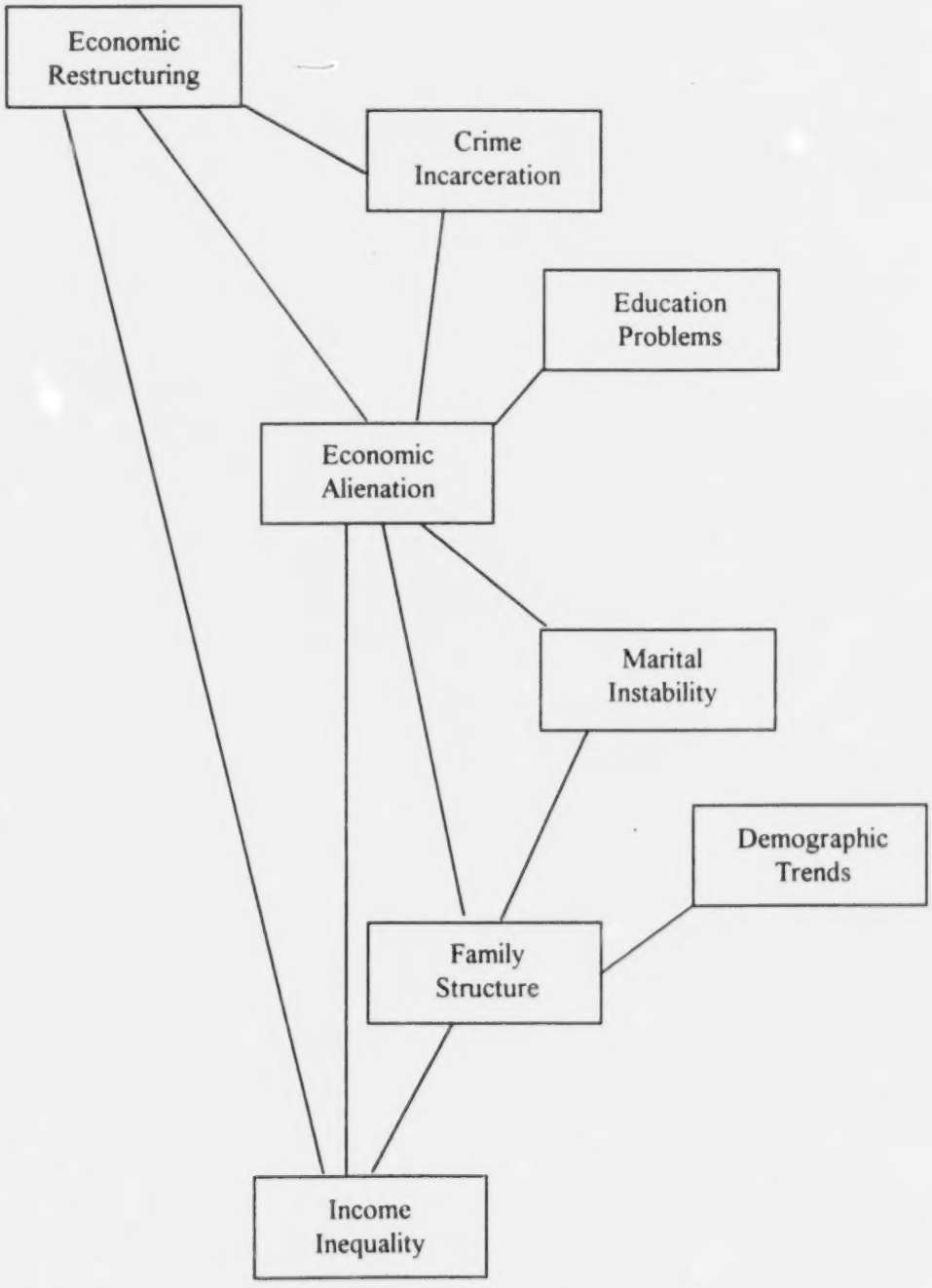
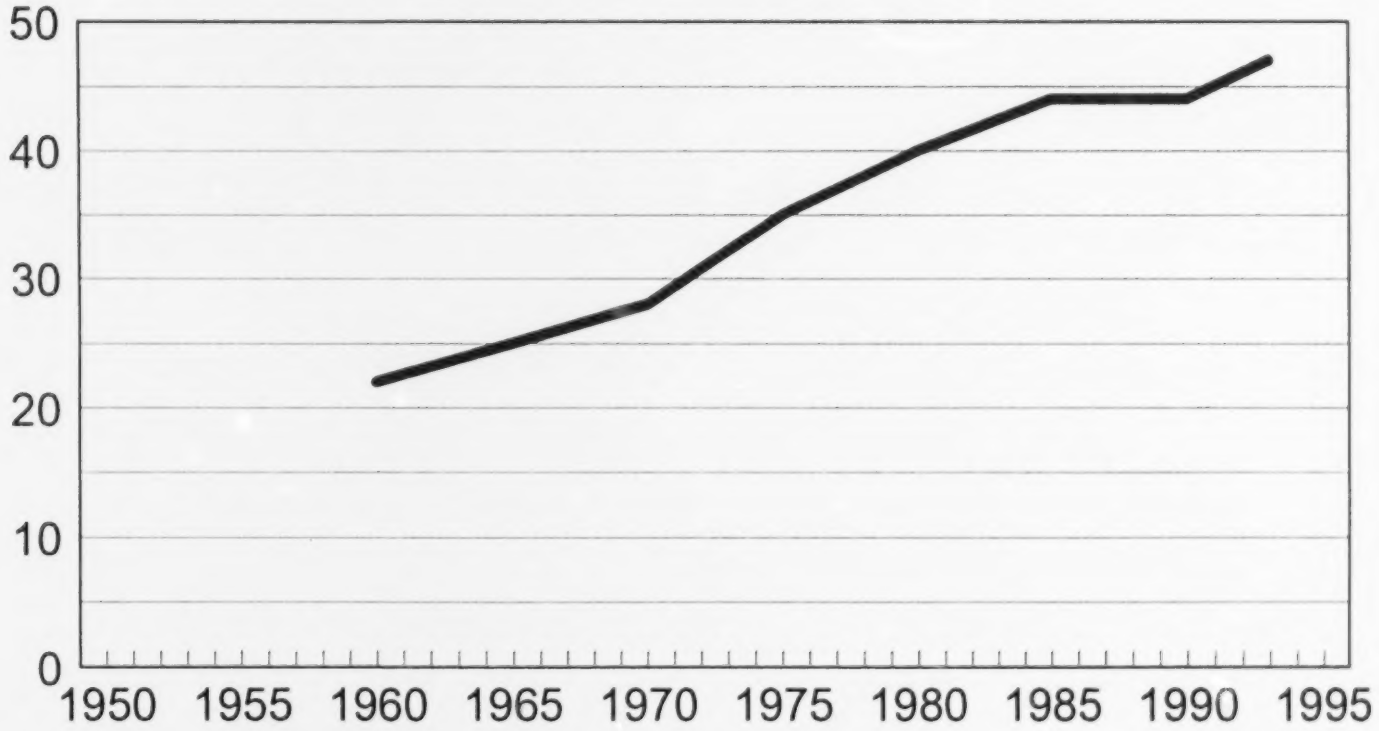


Figure 3

Percent Black Female-Headed Families U.S. 1960-1993



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Note: 1960, Black and other

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Figure 4

Divorce Rate by Race Per 1,000 Married Women U.S. 1960-1990

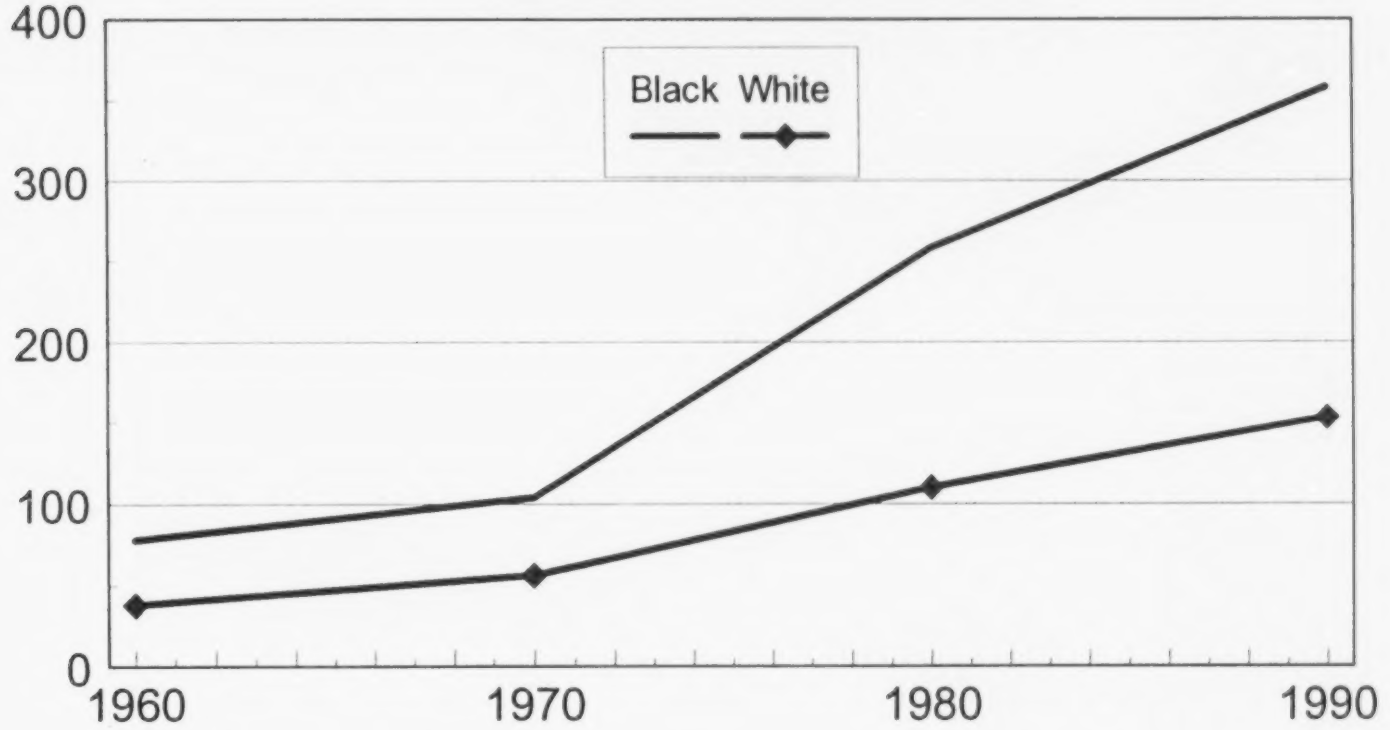

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Figure 5

Percent African American Two-Parent Families (U.S.: 1890-1990)

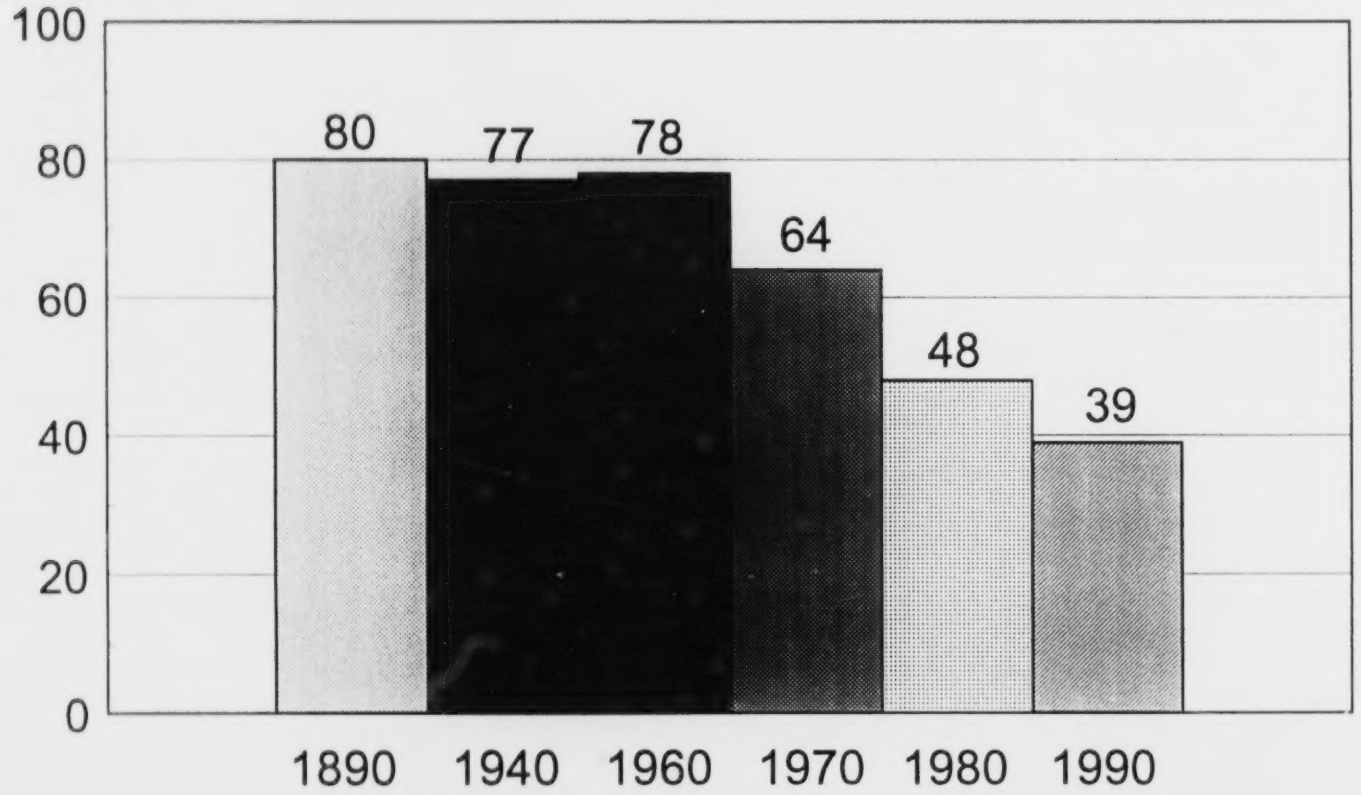

Figure 6

Percent African American Two-Parent Families (Cleveland: 1850-1990)

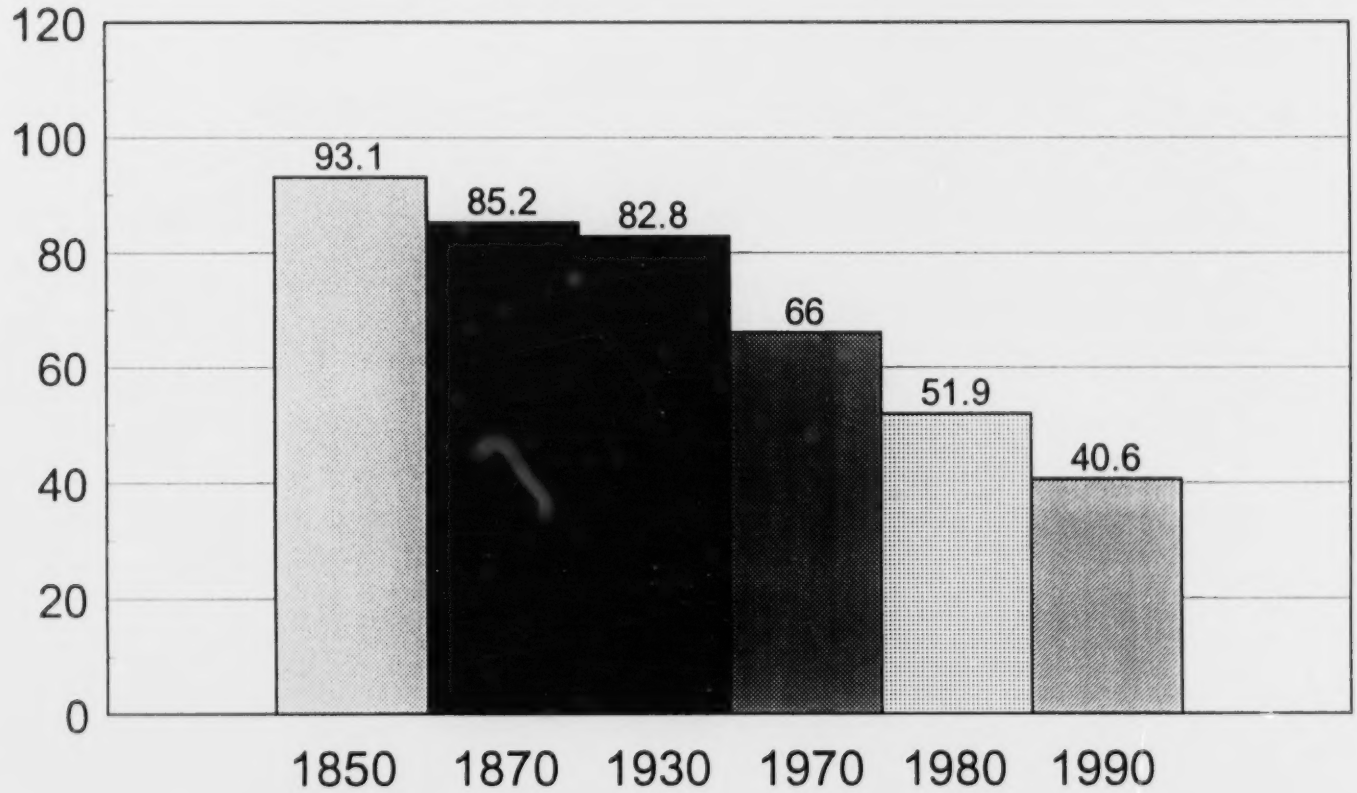

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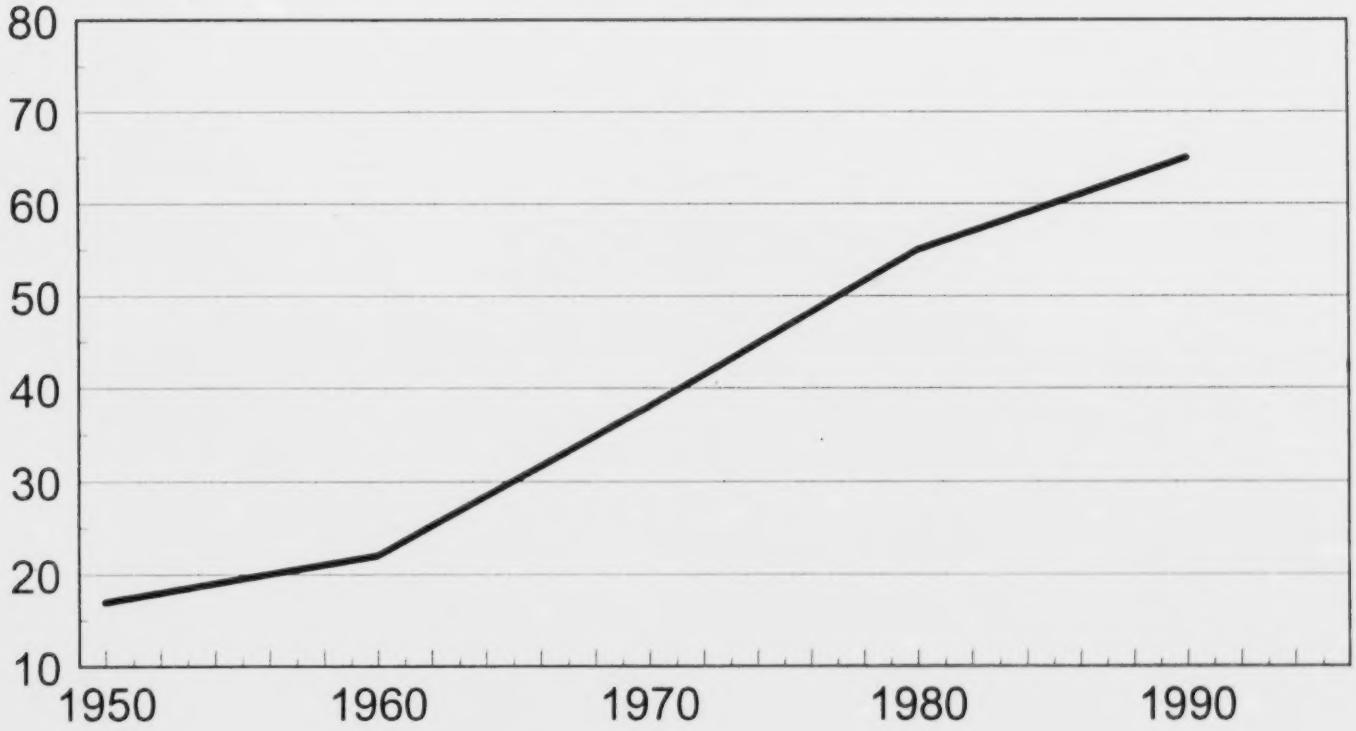
Figure 7

Percent Births to Unmarried Black Women U.S. 1950-1990



Note: Women 15-44; 1950-1960
Black and other

Figure 8

Birthrates by Race, U.S., Mothers 10-14
U.S. 1940-1990

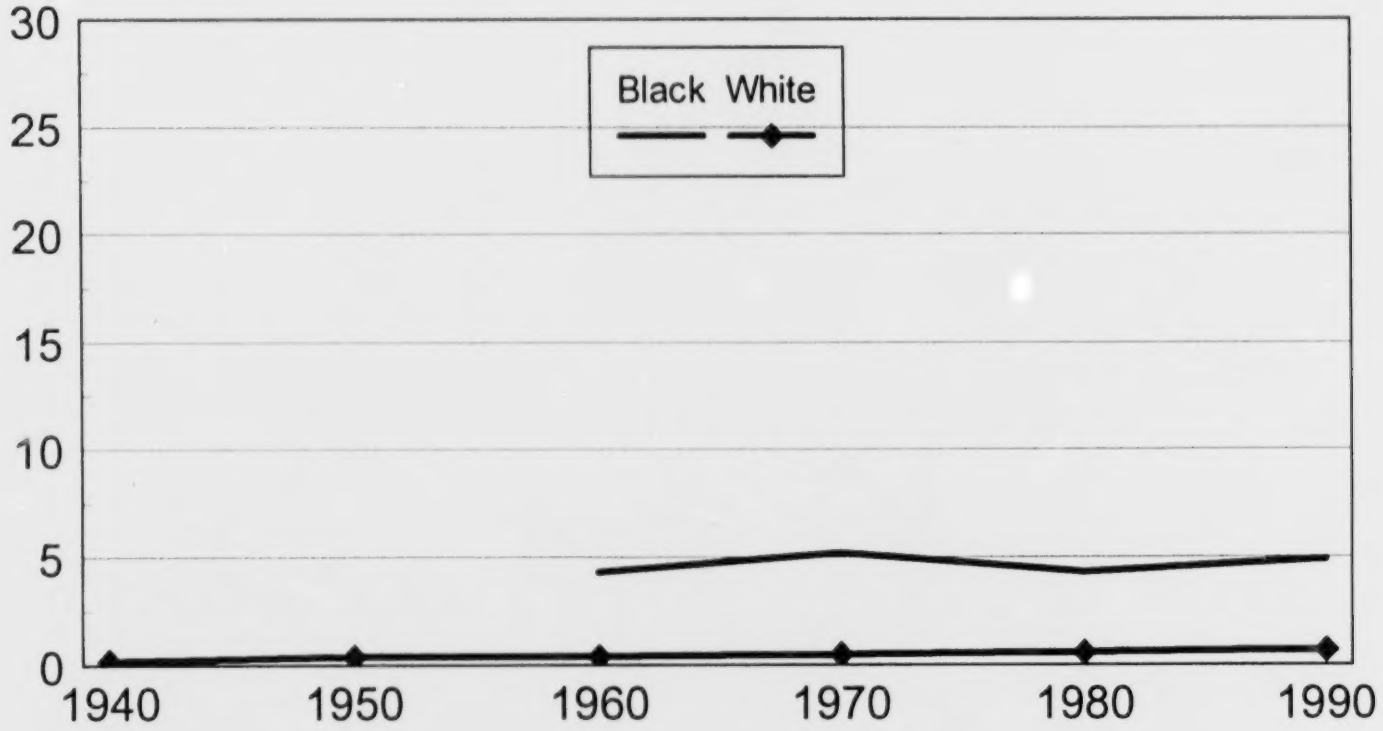


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Figure 9

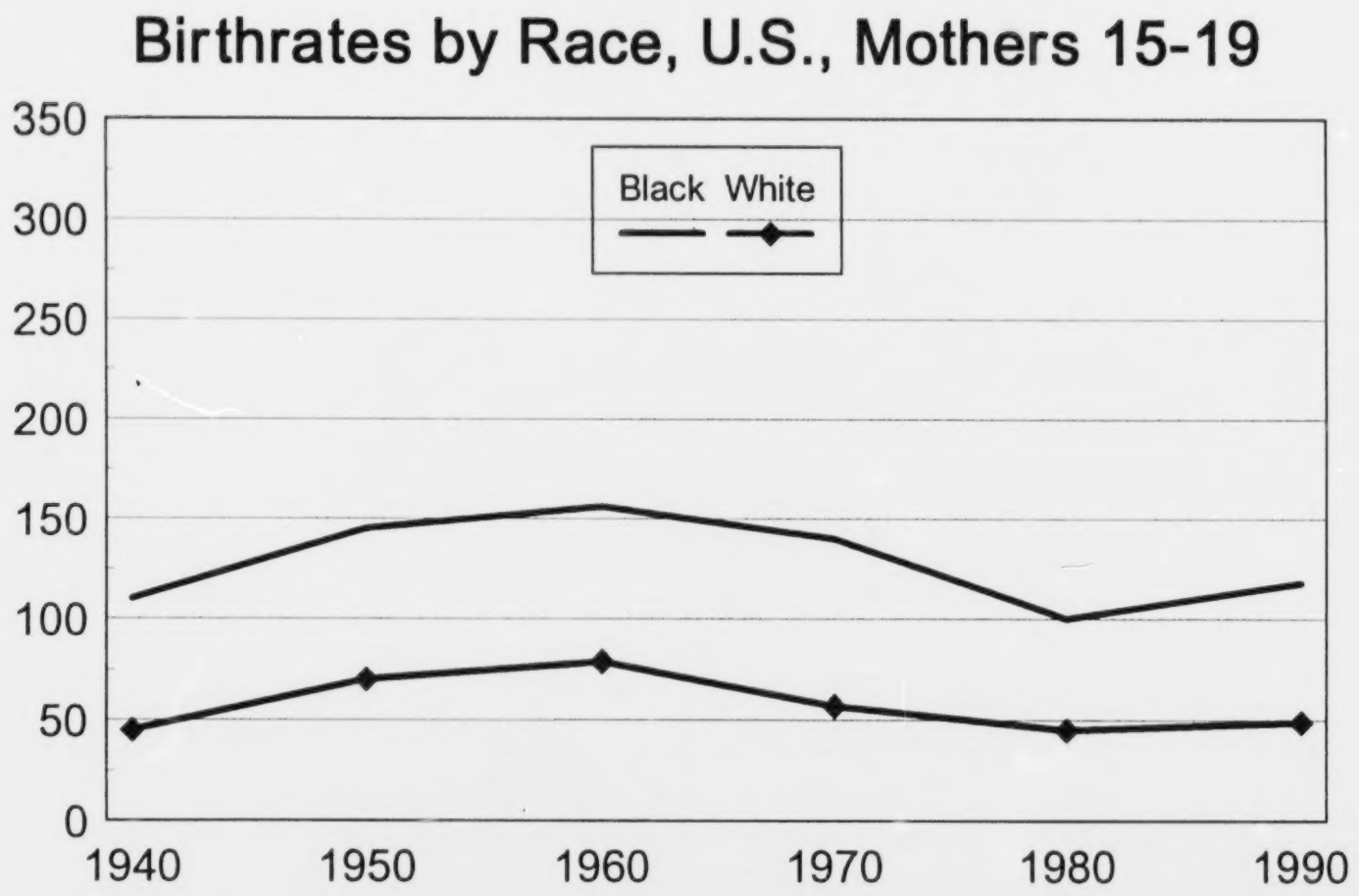

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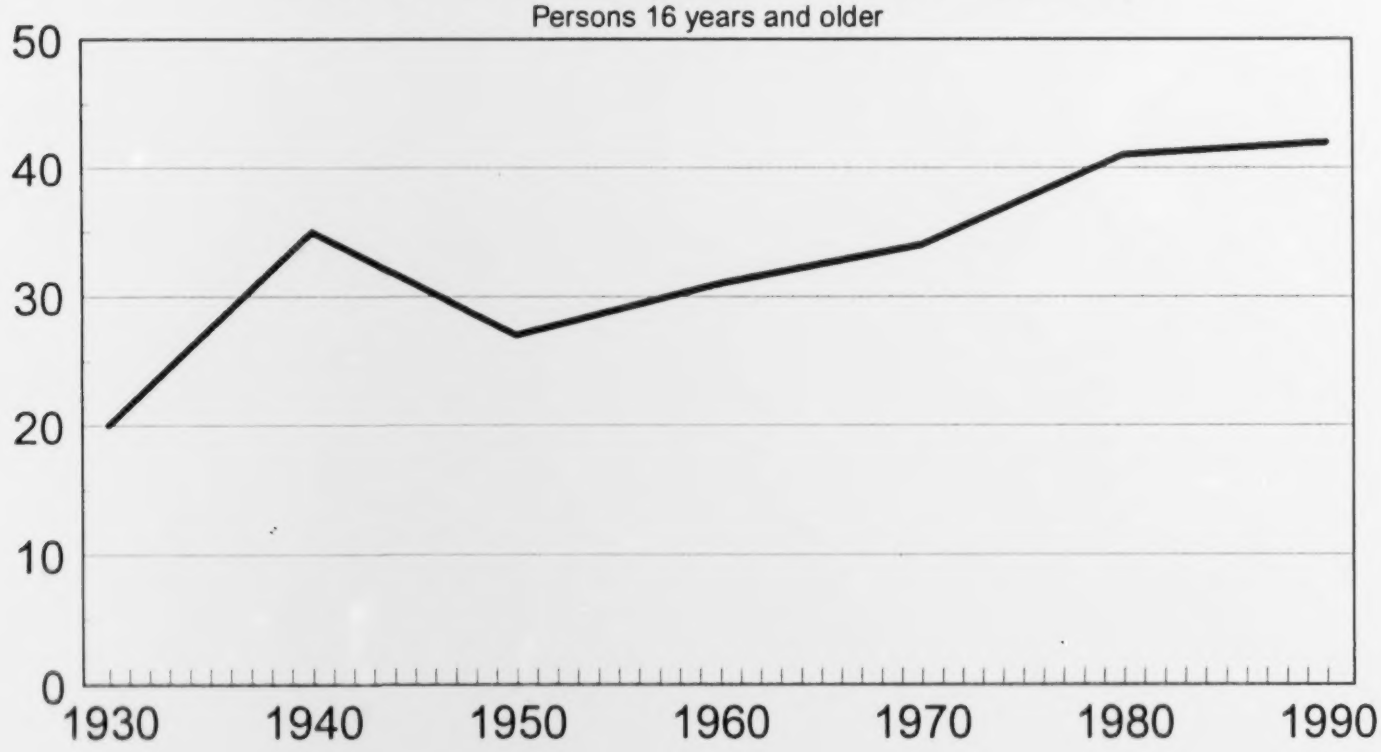
Figure 10

Percent Black Males Unemployed/Not in Labor Force (U.S. 1930-1990)



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Note: 1930-1970, Black and other; 1930, 10 and older; 1940, 14 and older

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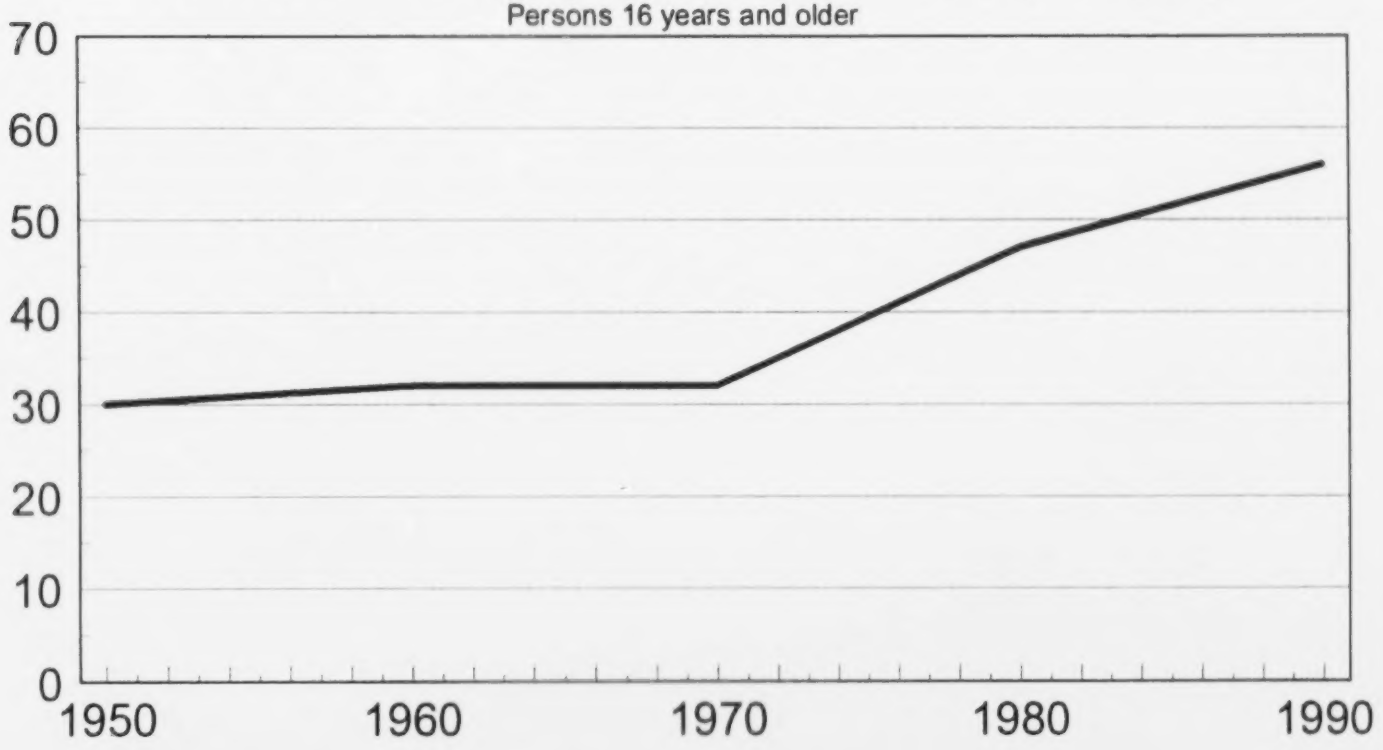
Figure 11

Percent Black Males Unemployed/Not in Labor Force (Cleveland 1950-1990)



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Note: 1950 & 1960, Nonwhite/14 years and older

Figure 12

Percent Black Female-Headed Families
Cleveland 1970-1990

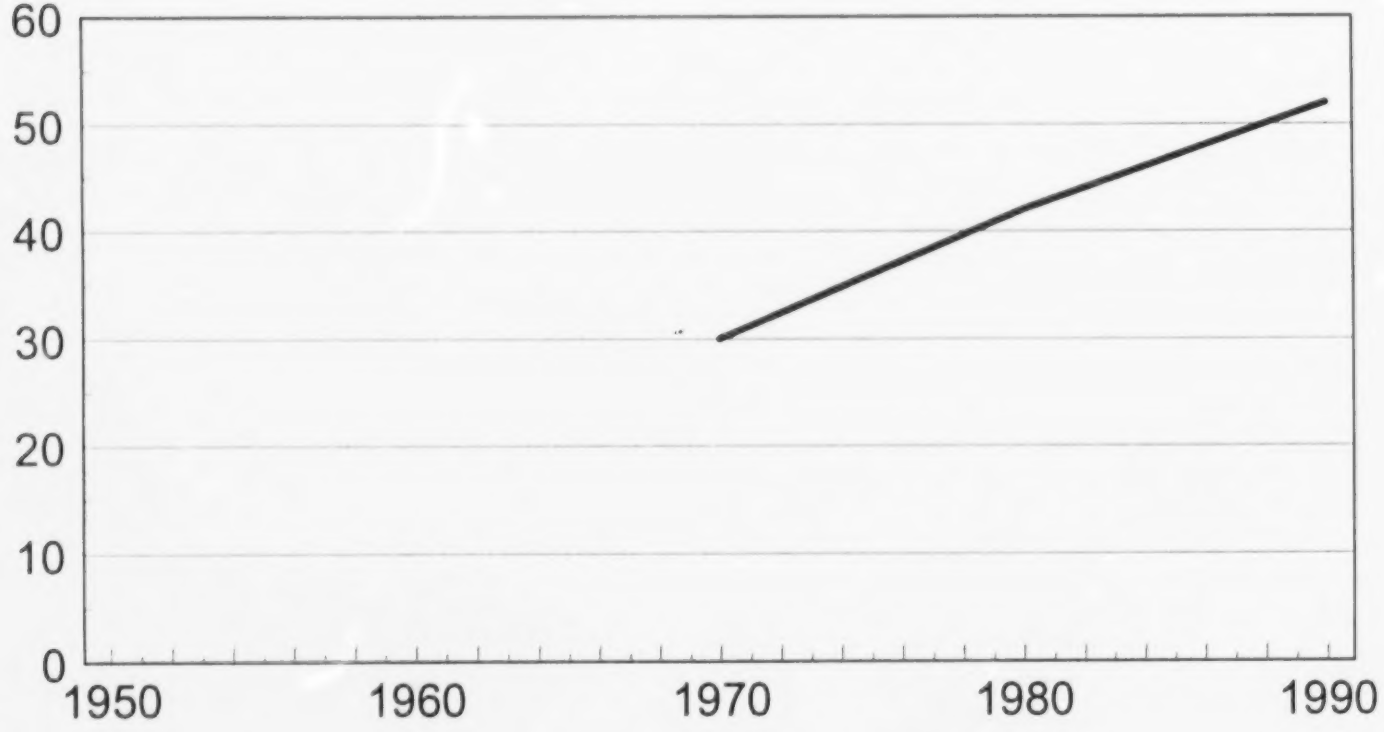

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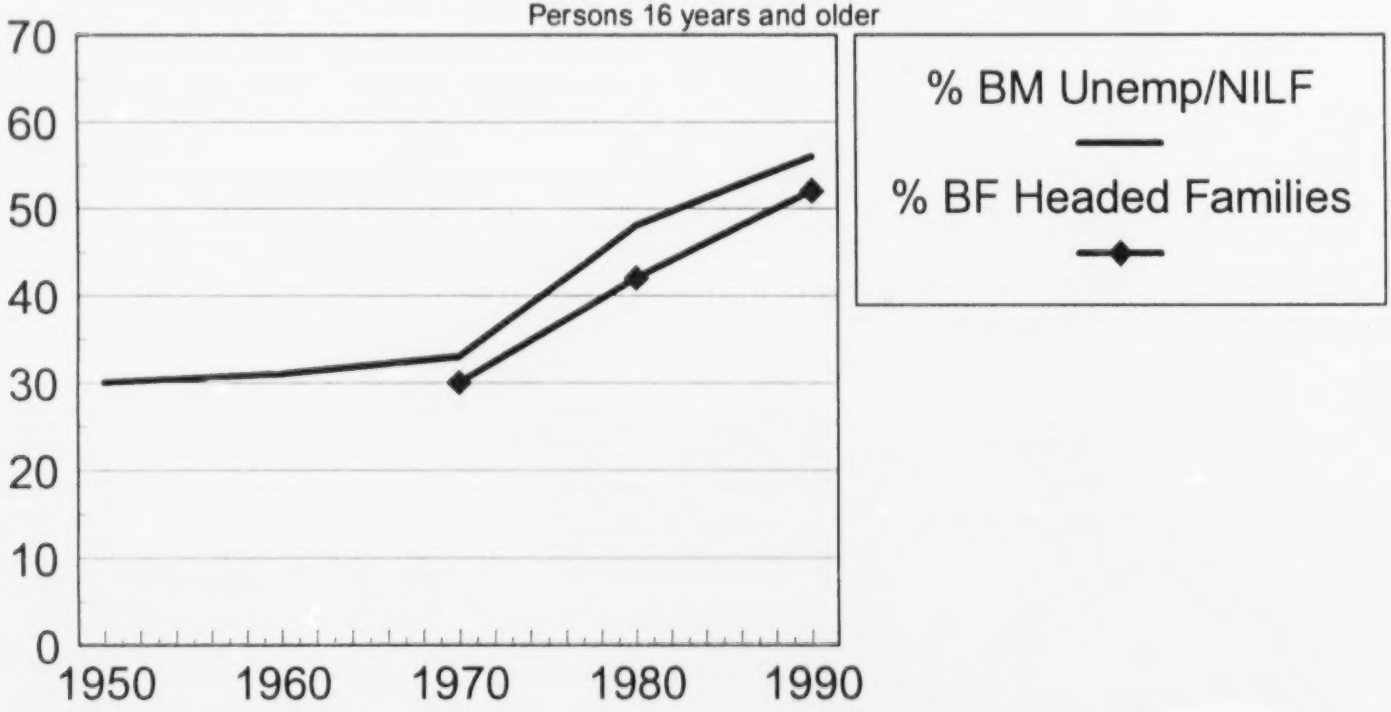
Figure 13

Percent Black Males Unemployed or Not in Labor Force and Percent Unmarried Black Female Heads of Households (Cleveland 1960-1990)



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Note: 1950 & 1960, Nonwhite, 14 years and older

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Figure 14

Women Married by Race and Age 20-24
U.S. 1940-1990

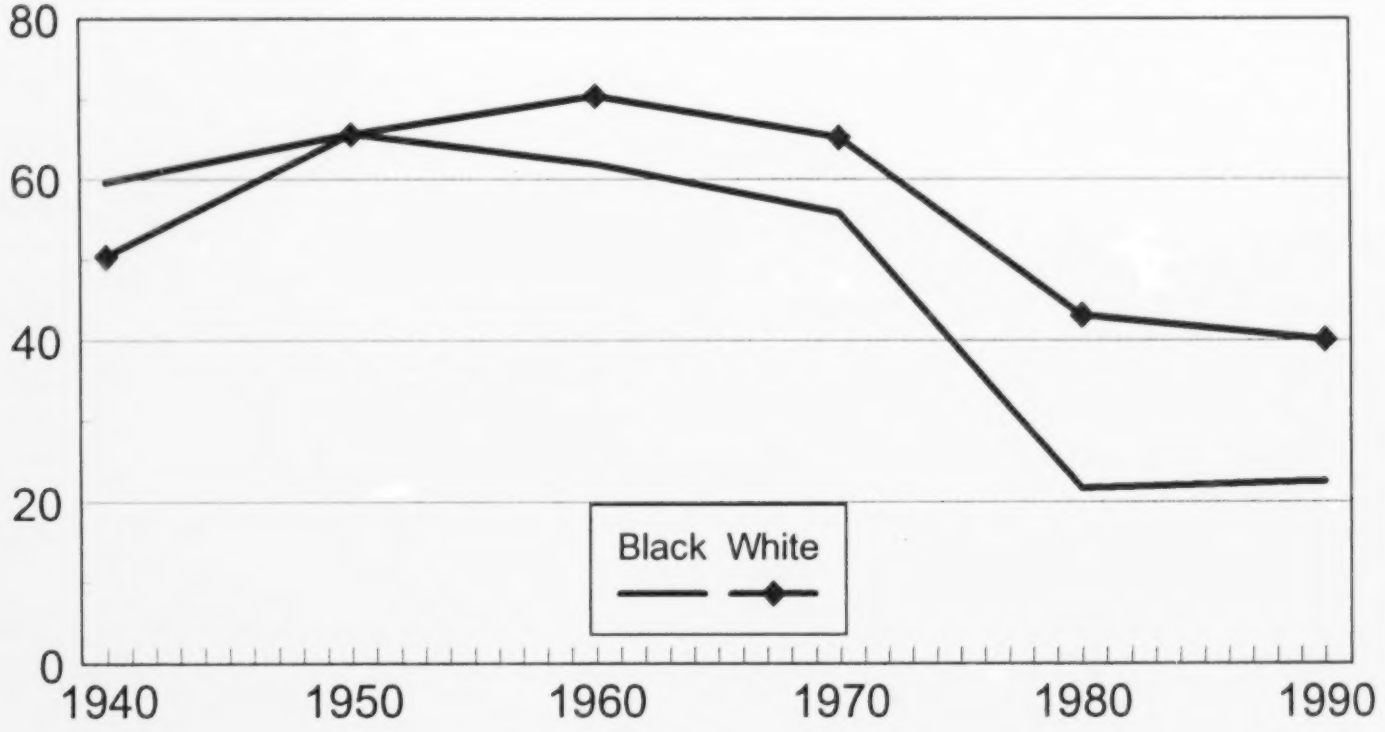

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Figure 15

Men Married by Race and Age 20-24
U.S. 1940-1990

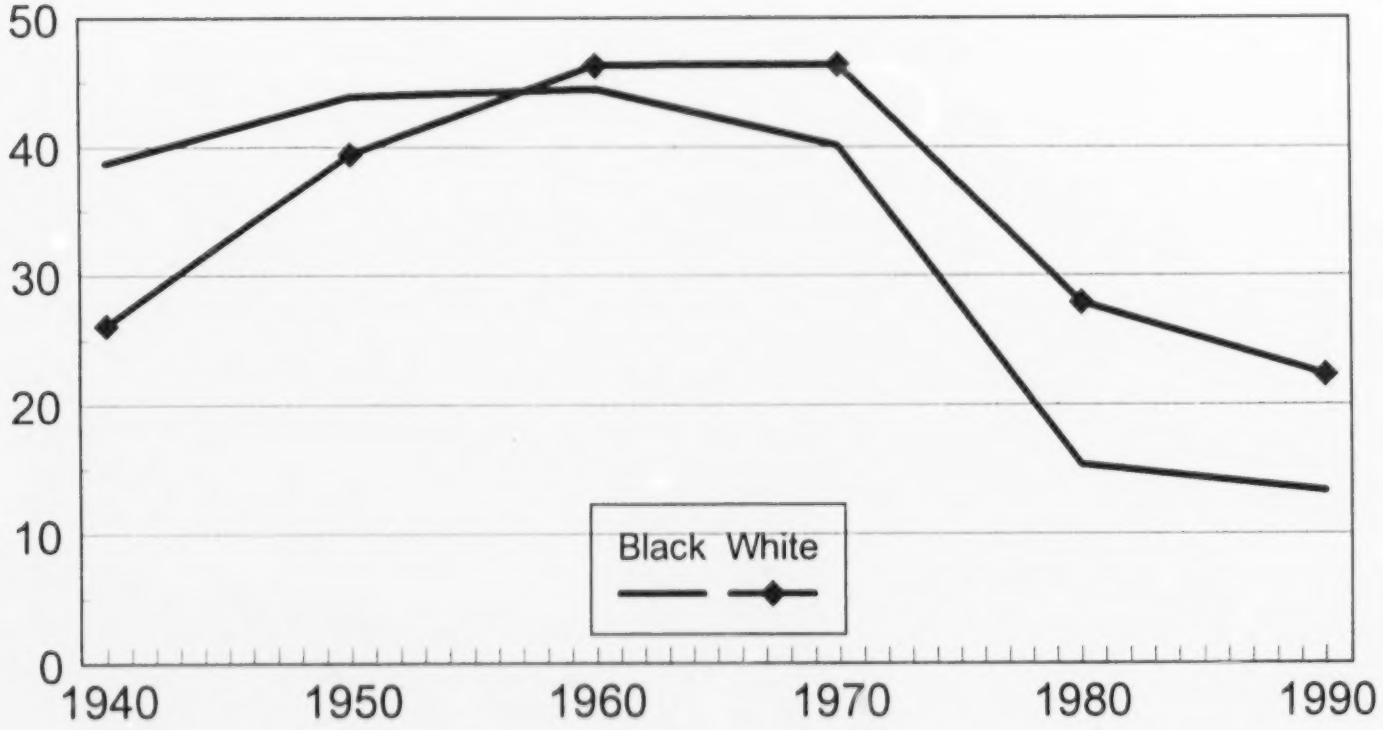

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Table 1
Money Income of Families—Number and Percent Distribution by Income Level
Black Families, U.S., in Constant (1993) Dollars: 1970-1993

	Number of families (1,000) and Percent Distribution By Year					
	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1993
< $10,000	1,025 (20.8%)	1,151 (20.6%)	1,358 (21.5%)	1,640 (23.7%)	1,778 (23.8%)	2,062 (25.8%)
$10,000-14,999	665 (13.5%)	821 (14.7%)	865 (13.7%)	824 (11.9%)	837 (11.2%)	911 (11.4%)
$15,000-24,999	1,188 (24.1%)	1,190 (21.3%)	1,346 (21.3%)	1,467 (21.2%)	1,412 (18.9%)	1,487 (18.6%)
$25,000-34,999	857 (17.4%)	922 (16.5%)	935 (14.8%)	941 (13.6%)	1,016 (13.6%)	1,095 (13.7%)
$35,000-49,999	690 (14.0%)	894 (16.0%)	935 (14.8%)	1,024 (14.8%)	1,143 (15.3%)	1,031 (12.9%)
$50,000-74,999	419 (8.5%)	492 (8.8%)	663 (10.5%)	754 (10.9%)	837 (11.2%)	871 (10.9%)
$75,000+	84 (1.7%)	106 (1.9%)	202 (3.2%)	270 (3.9%)	456 (6.1%)	528 (6.6%)
	4,928	5,576	6,304	6,920	7,479	7,993

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1194* (114th edition.) Washington, DC, 1995

Table 2
Ratio of Black Males to Black Females: U.S., 1960-1994

Years	Age Range 15-19 (%)	20-24 (%)	25-29 (%)	30-34 (%)
1960*	99	90	87	85
1970	99	85	85	82
1980	100	91	88	86
1990	102	95	90	87
1994	98	86	81	87

*1960, nonwhite

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1960, 1970, 1980, & 1990 Census of the Population; Bennett, Claudette E. The Black Population in the United States: March 1994 and 1993, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P20-480, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1995

Table 3
Ratio of White Males to White Females: U.S., 1960-1994

Years	Age Range 15-19 (%)	20-24 (%)	25-29 (%)	30-34 (%)
1960*	102	97	98	97
1970	103	94	98	98
1980	104	100	100	99
1990	106	104	102	101
1994	106	100	99	100

*1960, nonwhite

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1960, 1970, 1980, & 1990 Census of the Population; Bennett, Claudette E. The Black Population in the United States: March 1994 and 1993, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P20-480, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1995

Table 4
Ratio of Black Males to Black Females: Cleveland, 1960-1990

Years	Age Range 15-19 (%)	20-24 (%)	25-29 (%)	30-34 (%)
1960*	86	74	81	87
1970	94	72	75	75
1980	92	80	78	77
1990	97	80	73	77

*1960, nonwhite

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1960, 1970, 1980, & 1990 Census of the Population; Bennett, Claudette E. The Black Population in the United States: March 1994 and 1993, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P20-480, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1995

Table 5
Ratio of White Males to White Females: Cleveland, 1960-1990

Years	Age Range 15-19 (%)	20-24 (%)	25-29 (%)	30-34 (%)
1960*	89	86	106	106
1970	98	85	102	105
1980	102	98	110	106
1990	105	99	105	111

*1960, nonwhite

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. 1960, 1970, 1980, & 1990 Census of the Population; Bennett, Claudette E. The Black Population in the United States: March 1994 and 1993, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P20-480, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D C., 1995